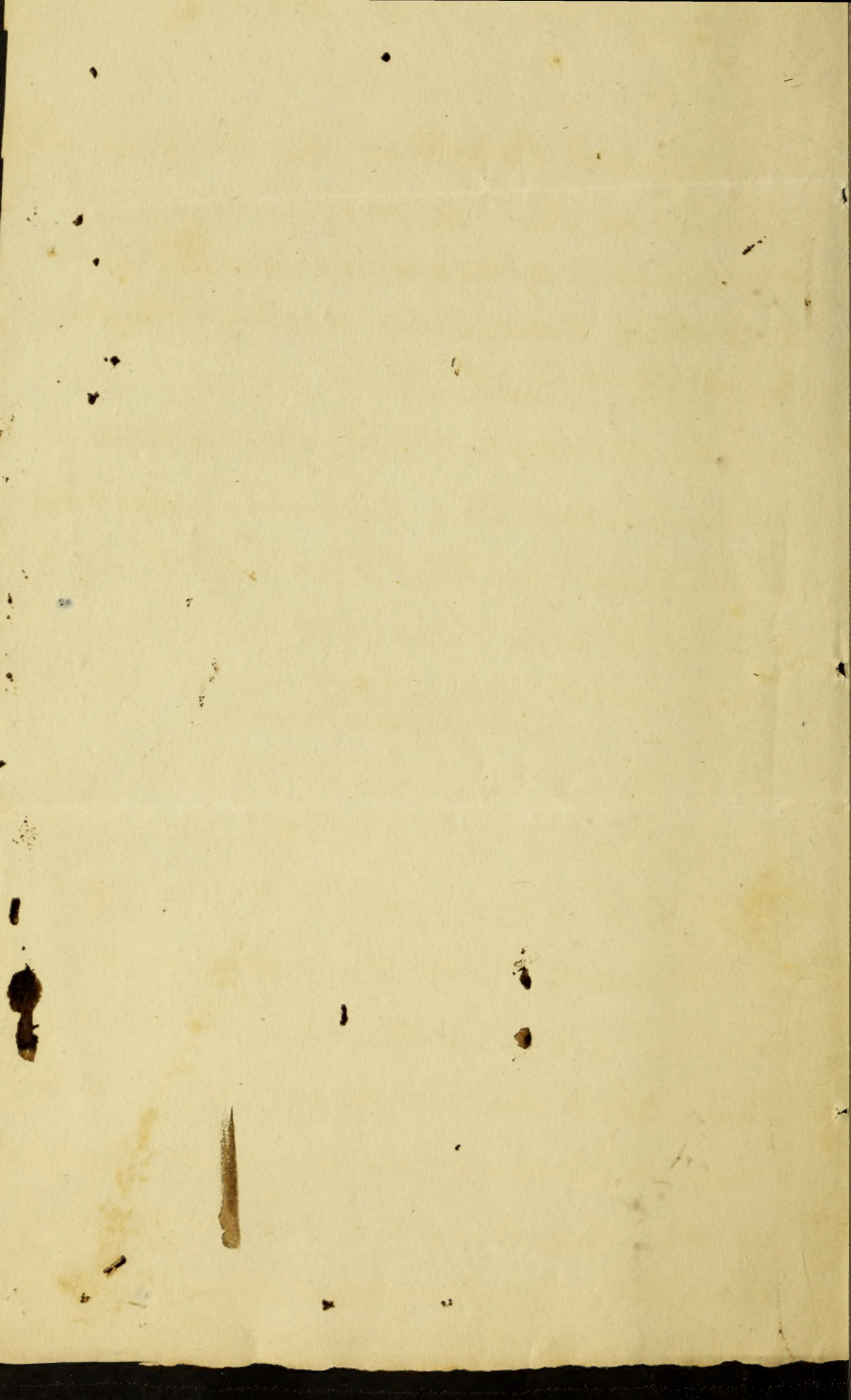


Ms. B. 9. 1 (11)

July 4, 1833

Boylston Hall



Boston July 4th 1833 - Boylston Hall.

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Original Draft of my Lectures - as
delivered on July 4. 1833 - occupying
2½ hours - afterward, divided into
4 lectures & delivered in Boylston Hall
on 4 evenings —

Luke 10: 36, 37. Which now of these
three thinkest thou was neighbor to him
th^t fell among the thieves? And he said,
he th^t showed him mercy. Then said
Jesus unto him, Go & do thou likewise

If any are ready to ask why
I have come up hither this morning to
discuss & exciting subject of slavery &
its remedy, they have ~~any~~ answer
in these words of the Lord Jesus Christ.
These teach me th^t man, wherever he
may be found & in whatever Circum^s,
is my neighbor, & has a neighbor's claims
upon my Compassion & benevolence.

They teach me: th^t Am. slave, ignorant
vicious, degraded, wretched, oppressed as
he is, is yet my neighbor. They point
me to that system of oppression under
which he is groaning, & with th^t authority
of J. C. bid me go in the Spi^t of the good
Samaritan & do wh^t I can to strike off
the fetters which th^e system has rivetted
~~on him~~; & to bind up th^e wounds which
it is even now inflicting on him. And
for myself I know not how I can do
him a better service than by lending
what of influence I possess to the
overthrow of the system itself.

To this end I propose on
the present occasion to pursue these
two inquiries in their various ram-
-ifications — 1st Is slavery in all cir-
a sin? 2^d Wh^t is its remedy?

On each of these topics I shall
use great plainness & I hope kindness

of speech. I shall take the liberty of expressing my own opinions upon each without the least reserve.

I am sensible th these topics cover a wide field of inquiry & remark & th it will be impossible to go over & whole in detail in the limits of a single discourse. I shall ~~however~~ therefore endeavor to seize upon & discuss & more prominent & important topics.

I am sensible too, that the subject is one of vast importance & magnitude - that the responsibilities under which I speak are of corresponding greatness - th no one ought to make a decided expression of opinion upon it, especially in the present excited state of the public mind, ~~in respect to it~~, without having thoroughly, candidly, & prayerfully investigated it, & feeling assured therefore th his decisions, whatever they are, are

+ decisions of everlasting truth.

And here allow me to say
th I have by no means been unmin-
-ful of these considerations, in consenting
to address you on the present occa-
-sion. I have not consented to do so rashly.
At least I think I have not. The subject
on which I am to speak has long been
one of no ordinary interest to my mind.
The time has been when my views
upon it were materially diff.^t from
wh^t they now are. In changing my
views I think I may safely say that
I have acted with no little delibera-
-tion & care. For months the subject
has been one of careful & I trust
candid thought. And the conclusions
to which I have come & which I am
now to present to you, are in my
own estimation the only conclusions
which are warranted either by the

dictates of enlightened humanity or the word of God.

It is due to myself also to say that these conclusions & this expression of them are not the result of hostility of feeling towards the South. So far from it the very reverse is the fact. They are the result of kindness & an ardent desire to know in what way the South can be saved from the curse of curses which now rests upon it.

With these introductory remarks I proceed to an examination of the first inquiry viz is slavery in all circumstances a sin?

In answering this, the first thing to be settled is this - what is slavery?

It is some what difficult to give a definition which ^{sh} be brief - cover the whole ground & yet be free from all objection. The best & at the same time

briefest, the I can think of, is this—
Slavery is † right of property in man—
or it is † holding of man as property.

Whether this includes all that
enters into † idea of slavery or not
is of little import^{ce} to my present pur-
pose. Be this as it may it is plain
th it includes the fundamental princi-
~~ple of all slavery—the starting point~~
~~ple on wh † whole superstructure~~
rests—† starting point whence it all
originates—† bulwark of defence ~~which~~ by
which, ^{alone} ~~secures~~ its continued existence, ^{is secured}
Had the principle th it is right in
certain cases to hold man as property
never been admitt^d or practised on
Slavery had never been. Were it
to day to be universally denied † all
who have hitherto practised on it, to
cease the practice slavery would ~~at~~
once cease to be. ~~The single principle~~
~~th in certain cases it is right to hold~~

All slaveholding in practice begins with & admission in theory th in certain cases it is right & proper; & it is continued in practice by the virtue of not professed admission in theory th in cert. cases its continued existence is right & proper. In a word the simple principle th in certain cases it is right & proper to hold man as property, admitted in theory is & starting point & & bulwark of defence of all slavery in practice.

This point might be illustrated in a thousand forms, but as I shall have occasion to refer to it again in a subsequent part of my discourse I shall omit its illustration here. It is important however & interesting to notice & act th ~~it is~~ this simple principle, admitted in theory & acted on in practice, is not ^{only} & starting point & fundamental principle of all slavery, but is &

all-pervading principle of it. In other words the entire system of Slavery is but a development or acting out of the one principle that in certain cases it is right & proper to hold man as property. ~~Go to~~

~~Go to the Statute book, & what is slavery there?~~

Examine the Statute book of slavery & what kind of thing?

A system of most oppressive law-law, the in so. 000 forms gives to the master a same absolute & irresponsible control over his slave wh he has over his horses or his swine. Law, therefore, which gives him a power & a legal right of treating his slave as he would any other item of property - ~~by which~~ ~~is he is empowered without any vio-~~ ~~lation of law~~ Law, which in its bearing on a slave, recognizes him only as property, & accords to him none of

the rights of man unrestricted. In other words you find a system of legal oppression, under which & without the violation of whose laws, & ~~slave~~ is master if he chooses, may buy & sell human beings - may breed & fatten human beings for market as we do cattle & swine - may exchange human beings for wine or money - may separate husband from wife & child from parent & sell the husband to Georgia men, & wife to Carolina men & child to Kentucky men - & if there be no white man present to witness & testify to the facts - may whip & beat & even kill & shoot, & may more in the case of a female, may violate her chastity by force with perfect impunity.

But what is this system of legal oppression? What are these laws? Are they slavery itself? Not ^{at} all. They are but the fruits of slavery. The thing itself lies far back farther back. This whole system of

Legal oppression is simply slavery developed. It is slavery acted out in the statute book. It is & one simple principle that it is right & proper in certain cases to hold man as property making laws for itself, or expressing itself in law. And the whole system of law wh. it thus frames for itself is but a bulwark of defence which it throws around itself for the purpose of securing its own perpetual existence & exercise. Slavery in the statute book is: nothing more or less than this simple principle legalized.

In the same manner examine slavery in actual life & wh. find you there? A system of most oppressive practice - mitigated indeed in many cases by the kindness of the interest of the master, yet after all most cruel & oppressive. The power over & slave, wh. & master assumes & secures & legalizes to himself by his own enactments is

too frequently put forth in most terrific
action. In actual life, as well as in
statute book, a slave is bought & sold, is
bred & fattened for a market - is exchanged
for swine - husband is separated from wife
& wife from husband, child from parent & parent
from child. A slave is ~~whipped & beat &~~
worked & starved & whipped & beat & killed
& made a victim of unhalloved lust
at a good pleasure of the master.

But without pursuing the picture,
what I ask is this system of oppressive
practice? Is it slavery? No; it is but the
fruits of slavery. It is slavery acted out.
It is a system of practice or treatment
based upon & growing out of the one
principle the man in certain cases may
~~is for~~ may be & is mere property.

Slavery then in its origin, &
in all its subsequent existence & devel-
opments is no other than the one principle
~~the in certain cases man may it is~~
~~right & proper to hold man as property~~

, admitted in theory & acted on in practice, th in some cases it is right & proper to hold man as property.

This one principle then admitted in theory & acted on by any man, makes him at once a slaveholder - admitted & acted on by a community, makes it a slaveholding community - nay admitted & acted on & world over, it ~~rings at once the death knell of freedom~~, makes the world a slaveholding world, & every man who has the power a slaveholder & every one who has not a slave. In a word it ^{digs the grave of} ~~digs the grave of~~ equity & justice, ~~equity & justice, & freedom. It rings the death knell of freedom & equal rights.~~ It puts the reins of gov^t & control, both among individ^s & communities, into the hands of arbitrary & irresponsible power & rings the death knell of freedom for the world.

And on the other hand, this one principle denied in theory & not

acted on in practice by t individual
& if a slaveholder before he ceases at
once to be so - denied & not acted on
by t community & it ceases at once
to be a slaveholding community -
denied & not acted on by t world, &
arbitrary, irresponsible power w^d cease
to sway t sceptre either among indi-
-viduals or communities. Equity &
justice would take t throne & instead
of the death knell, t shout of freedom,
triumphant over all oppression, w^d
fill the earth.

This simple principle then
admitted in theory & acted on in prac-
-tice is t real & whole ground of debate
between liberty & freedom & bondage
& world over. I am right in defining
slavery as t holding of man as property.
For t holding him as property is the
principle in question, admitted in theory
& acted on in practice.

The main question then
returns is slavery, or holding
of man as property, in all cases, &
under all circum^s a sin?

The question, you observe is
not whether slavery in & general is
a sin? i.e. whether in some circum^s,
or without reference to particular circ^s
it be a sin? In this sense it is admit
to be a sin by a general consent.
But the question in & general form, is
slavery a sin? & every man's ~~response~~
answer is yes. But come down to
& case in hand - touch & system of
Am. Slavery - & then circ^s alter cases,
& though it is very hard & very wrong
tho & poor slave should be kept out
of his rights still it would be very
wrong to let him have them just
now - it is far from being & master's
duty to let & oppressed go free at
present. We seem to be imagining tht our system is altogether
harmless &c. see Pp. 100.
Now this is either talking non-
-sense & contradiction; or else, while

maintaining, when y come to t case in
hand th in t pres^t case & under t pres^t
circum^s slaveholding is no sin.

Let me put t question - & I do it
with special reference to t case in hand,
& slavery at t south - do you, dear Sir,
think th slavery is a sin? &c

This shows you my hearses,
wh^t is doubtless true, that there are
multitudes in this land whose admis-
sion of t sin of slavery is a mere ab-
^{actions, sharp, louder than words}
-straction. They affirm & deny in t same
breath. Sin though it be & that on the
own admission, yet they will not
apply th admission consistently & thor-
oughly to t case in hand, & t same
reasons which forbid its consistent
application here must of necessity exist
to forbid its consistent application to
any & every particular case. For where
I ask &c =

It is important then th we look at this question with distinct reference to particular case in hand, & ask whether slave holding be not wicked in all cases & under all circumstances?

I remark then

1. th slaveholding in all cases & under all circumstances either is or is not wicked.

Says Wetherforce; "Slavery is the full measure of pure, unmixed unsophisticated wickedness; & scoring all competition a comparison, it stands without a rival in its secure, undisputed possession of its detestible pre-eminence." ~~See extract below also (a)~~

Now &c it either is or is not so. Circumstances cannot change the nature of things, so as &c e. g. slave-traffic. Though they may diminish the degree of guilt.

(a)

When it was resolved to adopt our present ecclesiastical organization, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Book of Discipline were ordered to be published, that all persons might know the doctrines and forms of the church, in the most authentic manner. The question of slavery was discussed, and alas! against their consciences, the northern brethren entered into a compromise with the slaveholders, something like the federal compact, and agreed to tolerate the highest possible iniquity, rather than dissolve the Presbyterian confederacy. Yet, the understandings, sensibilities, and consciences of many revolted against that perfidious departure from godliness; and, to pacify the clamor of their minds against this abandonment of truth, they inserted the following illustration of slavery,—which the slaveholders permitted to stand in the book, being convinced that in practice, it would be only a dead letter.

It is found in all the editions of "the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church," printed before the year 1818, and constitutes the note appended to the hundred and forty-second question of the larger Catechism;—"What are the sins forbidden in the eighth commandment?" The answer states, among other sins, man-stealing! And this is the account of that sin officially "ratified and adopted by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, held at Philadelphia, May the sixteenth, 1788, and continued, by adjournment, until the twenty-eighth of the same." Our General Assembly thus annotate. 1 Tim. i. 10. "The law is made—for men-stealers. This crime, among the Jews, exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; Exodus xxi. 16; he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death: and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or detaining them in it. Hominum fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt.—STEALERS OF MEN ARE ALL THOSE WHO BRING OFF SLAVES OR FREEMEN, AND KEEP, SELL, OR BUY THEM. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we steal those, who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth. Genesis i. 28. God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. Vide Poli synopsis in loco.

This was the authorized doctrine of the Presbyterian church, on the subject of slavery, from the meeting of the first General Assembly, in 1789, until the General Assembly in 1818, when that body determined that the note above quoted was no part of the belief and doctrine of the Presbyterian church. In reply to this fallacy, it must be observed, that every minister ordained prior to that meeting, solemnly declared his assent to the constitution of the church as it then existed, not as it was altered by that faithful body. The question is not so much, however, whether that doctrine be obligatory upon all Presbyterians, merely because it is found in the constitution of their church; but whether it is the decision of the oracles of God and I maintain that it is infallibly correct.

See Wetherforce
p. 2.

Again 2^d I remark then in the
2^d place the slave holding is in all cases
a falsehood in theory. It denies self-
evident truths - e.g. (1) the man is man; or
admitting this (2) the all men are born free
& equal. "We hold these truths to be self-evident;
the all men are created equal, the they are
endowed by the Creator with certain unal-
ienable rights; the among these are life
liberty & happiness!"

3. the man should not be judge in his own case when rights
of others are concerned.
4. the child^{ren} are not to be punished for crimes of or misfortunes of
the parents.
5. It denies the inviolability of marriage relations.
6. ^{in the} ~~the~~ ^{classes} are paramount to all others.

Again 3. Slaveholding is in all cases the
tyranny in practice. (a) It begins
in taking away of inalienable rights.
(b) It continues by withholding them.

Again 4. Slaveholding is in all cases a
violation of the law of God.

- (a) This gives to every being his proper place
in the scale of being & Slavery does not, but
gives man the place of a horse, or some inani-
mate thing - e.g. Kentucky men exchange hogs
for slaves.

(C) & whenever & wherever all violation
of God's law ceases then & there will all
slavery cease. - e. g. heaven.

(h) Love is the fulfilling of law. - "Love seeketh not her
own" - "worketh no ill to his neighbor" -

Again 5th Slave holding is, in all cases &c.
a matter of abominations

"Slavery" says William Pitt, "is a
system of incurable injustice, & com-
plication of every species of iniquity, &
greatest practical evil it has ever affected
the human race — a mass, a
system of enormities which in contro-
vertibly bid defiance to every regu-
-lation wh. ingenuity can devise, a
power effect, but a total extinction."
And Pitt is right. Extenuate & quill
of slaveholding, in given circum^s
as much as you please - throw it
back if you will on former gener^s,
& say if we h^d been in t^e days of
our fathers we h^d not partaken with
them in t^e shedding of innocent.

blood; ~~by grossing up~~ ~~plea of Systematic~~
~~urge, in extenuating, the~~
~~on supposed obstacles which in those~~
circumstances which slave holding has thrown
around itself to perpetuate its own
existence; & behind which it entrenches
itself in what it deems the unanswer-
-able plea of the impracticability of
its immediate abolition - in short
extenuate in ~~every possible way, &~~
~~yet the thing remaining~~ ~~to any &~~
every way of plea, & slave holding
is slave holding still. In the language
of Pitt it is still "a system of miserable
injustice, & complication of every species
of iniquity". It still remains, as Milner-
force said, "a full measure of pure
unmixed unsophisticated wickedness"
or in my own language "a mother of
abominations". Whatever its evil,
it evermore bears the same bitter
fruit & is the fountain head of the

Similar & innumerable things. And
~~as sure as it is that a good tree cannot~~
By its fruits then let it be judged.
"A good tree cannot bring forth evil
fruit." ~~Let~~ Let us then see for a moment
what are some of the fruits of slave-
holding.

~~And (1) slaveholding originates
& perpetuates the ~~slave traffic with~~
~~Foreign & Domestic~~ Foreign Slave trade,
with all its attendant sins & woes. And
here allow me to read you a chapter
in the history of its guilt & woe.~~

And (1) slaveholding originates
& perpetuates the Foreign Slave-trade
with all its attendant sins & woes.

And here allow me to read you
one chapter in the history of this
traffic. see manuscript p 9. - "piracy"

In 1713 a treaty bet. Eng. & Spain for
import of 144,000 in 30 years.

20,000,000 in all - 120,000 annually.

Again (2) Slaveholding originates & perpet-
-uates & domestic Slave-trade, with
all its attendant sins & woes. And
shall I read you here a chapter in
the history of this traffic?

See manuscript p 16.

And more recently still it is estimated
on good authority the Virginia alone ^{annually} sell
& exports to States South & West of her
as many as 6,000 slaves, & the Mary-
land, Kentucky, North Carolina & some
of the other States sell not less than 15,000
annually to the newer Slaveholding
States. - 200 infants per day -
" - " year.

~~Now think a moment of the facts
since I was developed these facts. Do they
not tell a tale of sin & woe that
is bad enough to chill one's blood?
To make every Am. citizen blush for
shame & every American Christian~~

Think a moment of these facts.
 Do they not spread out a page before
 you th is black with crime? Do they
 not tell a tale of woe th is sad enough
 to make t christian ~~man~~ christ.ⁿ heart
 melt within him for very grief - & to
 cause t Am. patriot to blush for very
 shame? — sundering of families —
 — Kidnapping
 — cruelties on t way = Stone of Bourbon
 County, Kent^y, knocking
 down a negro woman
 w t butt of his whip.
 — disposal when arrived at t market.

And now whence is all this? Whence
 its origin? Whence its continuance?
 The slave trader we are told is held in utter abhorrence at t
 south. His business very wicked, but t less th bears t fruit innocent!
 Again 2. It is a multiplier of some of t most
 A sacred relations in life. Pastor Pax p 125

Again (3) Slaveholding is t fruitful
source of licentiousness. ^{see Pastor p 129} (a)

(10) Whiteley's three months
in Jamaica.

I also told him of the exceeding immorality and licen-
 tiousness which I had witnessed; mentioning, in substance,
 the facts previously detailed. He replied, that that was a
 thing which they (the attorneys) must "wink at." He said
 he had but two married overseers under him upon the sev-
 eral properties he managed, and he intended never to have
 another; for (he remarked) the overseers, book-keepers,
 and head carpenters, generally took for their mistresses the
 sisters or daughters of the drivers or carpenters; by which
 means, if any plot was hatching amongst the slaves, some
 intimation of it was almost certain to be conveyed by these
 channels to the whites upon the plantation. And for the
 sake of such a wretched security, this gentleman, in the
 true spirit of the system, (though in other respects appar-
 ently a benevolent and honorable man,) was content to
 "wink at" the wickedness.

The open and avowed licentiousness of the
 plantation whites disgusted me almost as much
 as the cruelty of the system. At New Ground,
 the overseer, book-keepers, and head carpenter,
 all lived in the habitual practice of gross and
 unblushing profligacy. The tremendous moral
 tyranny that may be, and unquestionably often
 is, exercised in the uncontrolled indulgence
 of this brutalizing vice, is as obvious as it is appal-
 ling. One of the book-keepers voluntarily told
 me, that he had had twelve "negro wives" with-
 in six months. I saw another of the whites on
 this estate give his "housekeeper" (concubine)
 a cruel beating with a supplejack while she was
 in a state of pregnancy, and for a very trifling
 fault. For refusing to degrade myself by com-
 plying with "the custom of the country," as it
 was lightly termed, in this point, I was looked
 upon, as I soon perceived, with mingled con-
 tempt and suspicion by the plantation white
 generally.

Again the Slaveholding is a fruitful
source of innumerable cruelties, which
are really crimes of the deepest dye

Slavery in the statute book secures
the legalizes to the master absolute &
irresponsible power over the slave.
And though in many cases, through the
kindness or interest of the master, or through
both, the slave, considered as a mere
animal, does not suffer much from the
actual exercise of this power, yet there
are cases in which as I have said this power
is put forth in most terrific actions
& cruelty upon him. Men may tell
us if they please that the slave is on the
whole very comfortable & happy, but it is
all delusion. The slave comfortable!
Why then does he plot &c.?

The slave comfortable! Why
not exchange places with him then?

The slave comfortable!

There is a sense, in which, in many cases
he probably is so. - animal = our cattle.

But what is external comfort when there is a thinking mind within? &c.

Besides it is far from true that they are generally comfortable even as animals—

See the following facts respecting slaveholding in W. Indies—They are taken from Whitely's residence of three months in Jamaica. After relating several instances of extreme cruelty, he says—

I shall mention only other two cases which particularly excited my sympathy; for, after a few weeks, although my moral abhorrence of slavery continued to increase, my sensibility to the sight of physical suffering was so greatly abated, that a common flogging no longer affected me to the very painful degree that I at first experienced.

12th. The first of these two cases was that of a married woman, the mother of several children. She was brought up to the overseer's door one morning; and one of the drivers who came with her accused her of having stolen a fowl. Some feathers, said to have been found in her hut, were exhibited as evidence of her guilt. The overseer asked her if she would pay for the fowl. She said something in reply which I did not clearly understand. The question was repeated, and a similar reply again given. The overseer then said, "Put her down." On this the woman set up a shriek, and rent the air with her cries of terror. Her countenance grew quite ghastly, and her lips became pale and livid. I was close to her and particularly noticed her remarkable aspect and expression of countenance. The overseer swore fearfully, and repeated his order—"Put her down!" The woman then craved permission to tie some covering round her nakedness, which she was allowed to do. She was then extended on the ground, and held down by two negroes. Her gown and shift were literally torn from her back, and, thus brutally exposed, she was subjected to the cart-whip. The punishment inflicted on this poor creature was inhumanly severe. She was a woman somewhat plump in her person, and the whip being wielded with great vigor, every stroke cut deep into the flesh. She writhed and twisted her body violently under the infliction—moaning loudly, but uttering no exclamation in words, except once when she cried out, entreating that her nakedness might not be indecently exposed,—appearing to suffer, from matronly modesty, even more acutely on account of her indecent exposure than the cruel laceration of her body. But the overseer only noticed her appeal by a brutal reply (too gross to be repeated,) and the flogging continued. Disgusted as I was, I witnessed the whole to a close. I numbered the lashes, stroke by stroke, and counted fifty,—thus exceeding, by eleven, the number allowed by the Colonial law to be inflicted at the arbitrary will of the master or manager. This was the only occasion on which I saw the legal number of 39 lashes exceeded, but I never knew the overseer or head book-keeper give less than 39. This poor victim was shockingly lacerated. When permitted to rise, she again shrieked violently. The overseer swore roughly, and threatened, if she was not quiet, to put her down again. He then ordered her to be taken to the hot-house or hospital, and put in the stocks. She was to be confined in the stocks for several nights, while she worked in the yard during the day at light work. She was too severely mangled to be able to go to the field for some days. This flogging took place on the 27th of September.

13th. The flogging of an old man, about 60 years of age, is the last case I shall mention. He was the third driver upon the estate,—there being five altogether, whose sole employment was literally driving, or coercing by the whip, the negro population to labor.—With this old man I had had some conversation, and felt particularly interested in him, for his silvery locks and something in his aspect reminded me powerfully of my aged father, whom I had left in England. He had been upon the estate a great number of years. He told me that not one of the negroes belonging to the gang he wrought in when he first came to New Ground was now alive. He came up to the overseer's door at shell blow one day, and gave in, as is the practice, on a tally or bit of notched stick, his account of the half day's work of the gang he superintended.—The overseer was dissatisfied—said it was insufficient—and ordered him to get a flogging. The old man said, "Well, Busha, me could have done no better, had you been standing by." Then, groaning deeply, he laid down his staff and whip, unloosed his clothes, and lay quietly down to be flogged without being held.—One of the other drivers, who had been called forward, appeared very reluctant to perform the office; but, on the overseer swearing a rough oath or two, he proceeded to inflict the usual punishment of 39 lashes.—The old man, looking up in the overseer's face imploringly, cried out after every stroke for several minutes, "Busha! Busha! Busha!" but seeing no signs of relenting, he ceased to call on him, expressing his feelings only by groans. I was deeply affected by the sight, and felt at the moment that these groans were an awful appeal to the judgment seat of Him who heareth the cry of the oppressed. When the punishment was over, and the poor man arose, the other drivers looked at each other and shook their heads, but uttered not a word. They dared not.

comfort when there
within? &c.

from time the
unfortunate even

facts respecting
Indies - They are

dence of three months

relating several

ally, he says -

You will perhaps
say to me in reply to
all the ~~the~~

During my residence at New Ground, the St. Ann's workhouse gang (of convict slaves) was employed in digging caneholes on the plantation. I had thus frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with them. I shall never forget the impression I received from the first near view of these wretched people.—The son of the captain, or superintendent of the workhouse (a person named Drake) accompanied me to the field the first day I went out to see this gang; and as we went along, he remarked that I should probably be somewhat shocked by their appearance, but ought to bear in mind that these negroes were convicted malefactors—rebels, thieves, and felons. On approaching the spot I found indeed a most affecting and appalling spectacle. The gang, consisting of forty-five negroes, male and female, were all chained by the necks in couples; and in one instance I observed a man and a woman chained together. Two stout drivers were standing over them, each armed both with a cart-whip and a cat-o'-nine tails. Nearly the whole gang were working without any covering on the upper part of their bodies; and on going up to them, with a view to closer inspection, I found that their backs, from the shoulders to the buttocks, were scarred and lacerated in all directions, by the frequent application of the cat and the cart-whip, which the drivers used at discretion, independently of severer floggings by order of the superintendent. I could not find a single one who did not bear on his body evident marks of this savage discipline. Some were marked with large welts, and with what in Yorkshire we should call *sores*, or ridges of flesh healed over. Others were crossed with long scabbed scars across the buttocks; on others, again, the gashes were raw and recent.—Altogether it was the most horrid sight that ever my eyes beheld. One of them had on a coarse shirt or smock frock, which was actually dyed red with his blood. The drivers struck some of them severely, while I was present, for falling behind the rank in their work.

I asked one of the drivers what were the offences for which these people had been condemned. He replied that some of them were convicts from Trelawney parish, who had been concerned in the late rebellion; others were thieves and runaways; and, pointing out three individuals (two men and a woman), he added that these had been taken up while martial law was in force—for praying. I asked if I might be permitted to speak to these three persons: and, meeting with no objection, I went forward and conversed with them. One of them, whose name was Rogers, in reply to my inquiries, informed me that he had been condemned to the workhouse gang for meeting with other negroes for prayer. The other man, whose name I have forgot, told me that this was the second time that he had been sent to work in chains solely for this offence—namely, joining with some of his friends and relatives in social prayer to his Maker and Redeemer! In order to assure myself further of the truth of this extraordinary fact, I made inquiry respecting it of some of the most intelligent negroes on New Ground estate, to whom the particulars respecting these people's condemnation were known, and received such full corroboration of their statement as left me no doubt whatever of its truth. Indeed I soon found good reason to believe that on many estates there are few offences for which the unhappy slaves are punished with more certainty and severity than praying!!!!

comfort when thou
within? &c.

from time the
unfortunate even

facts respecting

Indies - They are

denied of three months

relating several

ultly, he says -

You will perhaps

say to me in reply to

all this, that these are un-

usual cases even in the

West Indies - that & treatth

of slaves on this plantth

&c

On conversing with Mr. M^rLean, (as I frequently did when I first went to New Ground) respecting the extreme severity of the system pursued on that estate, he assured me that he was far from being a harder task-master than other overseers on sugar plantations; and to convince me of this he told me of "severities" (or rather atrocities) exercised on other estates in the same parish, far beyond any which I witnessed on New Ground. I also heard of extraordinary instances of cruelty from others; and I was told, by a resident in St. Andrew's parish, that the floggings there were more severe than in St. Ann's; switches of the prickly ebony being frequently used after the cart-

whips.

~~But 2^d Slavery is in all cases & false
-hood in theory. For it denies self-
-evident truths. (a) the man is man~~

~~or admitting this (b) the all men are created &
are endowed by the Creator with certain un-
-alienable rights, such as life liberty & the
pursuit of happiness.~~

~~Again 3. Slavery is the tyranny in practice~~

Here however you will probably
tell me the slavery in the West Indies is
one thing & slavery in the U. States quite
another &c

I am not prepared, neither do
I wish to say the there is no diff^e in
the degree of cruelty with which slaves are
treated under the two systems? But this
I do say, & I have quoted the above facts
in order to show the fact, the there is a
wonderful resemblance bet^h the two &
the they are really nearer akin than
we are apt to suppose. Let us look

at a few facts taken in relation to
the crimes & cruelties of the Am. system.
They are taken from the letters of the
Rev^d John Rankin Pastor of the Presbyter-
ian ch^h of Ripley & Strait-Creek Brown
Co Ohio - addressed to his brother Mr
Thomas Rankin Merch^t at Middle-
brook Augusta Co Virginia. These letters
were written in 18

In letter VIII. he undertakes to show
the extent of the slaveholder's power over his
slaves, & gives the following facts in illus-
tration. These

Again, the proprietors of slaves may exact from
them excessive labor, and thus lay upon them an
intolerable burden during life. It is well known
that many masters are so avaricious that they
cannot be satisfied with a reasonable quantity of
labor. The manner in which these unfeeling
monsters exact labor from their poor slaves may
be illustrated by a single fact, the knowledge of
which came to me from a respectable source, and
though it appears most shocking to every humane
feeling, yet I believe it can be fully attested.

A wealthy citizen of Georgia, purchased, on
shipboard, six African girls, who probably were
directly from Africa, and having brought them
home, he put them into the hands of his overseer,
and ordered him to assign them a certain portion
of labor during each day of the week, and in case
they should fail to perform it, he was command-
ed to give them a considerable number of lashes
each, and to add the remainder of the task to the
next day's labor, and in case they should fail to
perform the whole he was ordered to add to the
number of lashes in proportion to the failure, and
still to add the deficiency to the next day's labor,
and thus he was daily to increase both the labor
and stripes in case of failure. The overseer, hard
hearted as he was, expostulated with him, and
assured him that the labor was more than the
girls were able to perform, but he swore with a
tremendous oath that they should do it or die.
The poor creatures commenced the dreadful task,
but being unaccustomed to such labor, their hands
were soon worn to the quick; this they endured
with patience, and did all they could to perform
what was assigned them, but they were totally
unable to accomplish it—they failed on the first
day, and received the cruel lashes! The next
morning with sore backs and bleeding hands they
attempted the enlarged task—their hoehandles
were soon made red with their innocent blood—
they labored with great assiduity, but they could
not perform the unreasonable task, and conse-
quently received the enlarged number of lashes!
On the third morning they commenced again,
but the task was so much enlarged that all hope
of performing it was entirely precluded, and the
enormously increased number of lashes became
certain—the unhappy creatures despaired of life,
and concluded that they must inevitably die under
the torturing lash, unless they could despatch
themselves in some other method. This appeared
to be the only means of escaping the most terrible
cruelty. Hence they formed and executed the
dreadful design of hanging themselves! The
horn blew for dinner, all started to their huts, but
these unfortunate girls lingered behind, and unob-
served by the rest of the company turned aside
into a thicket, and there all six hanged them-
selves! They were soon missed, and search was
quickly made for them—they were immediately
found, and the cruel master enraged by his disap-
pointment and loss, made every possible exertion
to bring them back to life, that they might again
fall under the weight of his vengeance! but all
his attempts were in vain—their souls were gone
into awful eternity, and had their eternal destiny
unalterably fixed! And being exceedingly exas-
perated on finding that they had escaped from his
hand, he ordered a hole to be dug for them, and
caused them to be tumbled into it like mere ani-
mal carcasses, while he vented the most awful im-
precations upon them! And the overseer was
ordered to exact from the rest of his slaves, what
labor he intended them to perform.

at a few facts taken in relation to
crimes & cruelties of Am. system.

They are taken from the letters of the
Pastor of the Presbyterian
Church at Straits Creek Brown
to his brother Mr
Clerk at Middle-
Virginia. These letters

undertakes to show
Clerk's power over his
owning facts in illu-

Those, who are unacquainted with the depravity of the human heart, may be disposed to believe it impossible that any should be so cruel as to drive their slaves to work while they are laboring under mortal disease; but it can be established by the best of testimony that slaves have been thus driven, and that almost to the moment of expiration!

A respectable gentleman, who is now a citizen of Flemingsburg, Fleming county, Kentucky, was, when in the State of South Carolina, invited by a slaveholder, to walk with him and take a view of his farm. He complied with the invitation thus given, and in their walk they came to the place where the slaves were at work, and found the overseer whipping one of them very severely for not keeping pace with his fellows—in vain the poor fellow alledged that he was sick, and could not work—The master seemed to think all was well enough, hence he and the gentleman passed on. In the space of an hour they returned by the same way, and found that the poor slave, who had been whipped as they first passed by the field of labor, was actually dead! This I have from unquestionable authority.

Thus we see that a merciless overseer will push his hapless slave for his labor, to the last moment, and follow him with the torturing lash into the very gates of eternity!

U
stance.

A certain citizen of Kentucky purchased a piece of furniture, and after he brought it home, his wife unfortunately broke some small part of it, and that in the presence of a neighboring gentleman; she nevertheless charged it upon a black girl of about seventeen years of age. The girl honestly declared her innocence but the mistress persisted in her charge against her. At length the brutish master seized the poor unfortunate girl, drew her clothes up over her head, hanged her by them to the limb of a tree, and in that shameful position whipt her several times very severely. By the extremity of torture she was sometimes forced to say that she did break the furniture, but in the moment of respite she would honestly deny it again—and this subjected her to more torture. Fortunately for the poor girl the gentleman who was present when the mistress broke the furniture happened to be passing by—he paused in amazement at the shocking scene—he soon discovered the cause of the cruelty—indignation overcame him—he approached the brutish master and told him that his own wife had broken the furniture in his presence, and declared that if he did not cease from torturing the poor girl he would give him as much as he had given her—with this the shameless monster thought it necessary to comply, and for that time the poor girl was released from his torturing hand. The gentleman who rescued the girl and stated this fact, is now a resident of the state of Ohio, and is known to be a man of truth.

It is painful to my feelings to record such a shameful outrage upon decency and humanity; but it is necessary to do it in order to show the horrible extent of the slaveholder's power over his slaves. Every slaveholder has power to strip his female slaves, and treat them in the same disgraceful manner, and thousands of them are base enough to put such power into exercise. It really grieves me to think that any government, and much more that our own does sanction such an abomination.

I will close this part of my subject, by giving you an account of one of the most terrible displays of slaveholding power, one that ought to make every slaveholding nation tremble, and one that must fill every humane bosom with horror ! I will give it just as I received it from the pen of the Rev. William Dickey, who is well acquainted with the circumstances which he describes, and who is a man of undoubted veracity.

‘ In the county of Livingston, Ky. near the mouth of Cumberland, lived Lilburn Lewis, a sister’s son of the venerable Jefferson. He, ‘ who suckled at fair Freedom’s breast ’ was the wealthy owner of a considerable number of slaves, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly and lashed severely. The consequence was, they would run away. This must have given, to a man of spirit and a man of business great anxieties until he found them, or until they had starved out, and returned. Among the rest was an ill grown boy about seventeen, who having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water,

and in returning let fall an elegant pitcher. It was dashed to shivers upon the rocks. This was the occasion. It was night, and the slaves all at home. The master had them collected into the most roomy negrohouse, and a rousing fire made. When the door was secured, that none might escape, either through fear of him or sympathy with George, he opened the design of the interview, namely, that they might be effectually taught to stay at home and obey his orders. All things being now in train, he called up George, who approached his master with the most unreserved submission. He bound him with coras, and by the assistance of his younger brother, laid him on a broad bench, or meat block. He now proceeded to WHANG off George by the ancles !!! It was with the broad axe !—In vain did the unhappy victim SCREAM AND ROAR ! He was completely in his master's power. Not a hand amongst so many durst interfere. Casting the feet into the fire, he lectured them at some length. He WHACKED HIM OFF below the knees ! George roaring out, and praying his master to BEGIN AT THE OTHER END ! He admonished them again, throwing the legs into the fire ! Then above the knees, tossing the joints into the fire ! He again lectured them at leisure. The next stroke

the body. These were

severed the limbs from the body. . . . also committed to the flames. And so off the arms, head, and trunk, until all was in the fire ! Still protracting the intervals with lectures, and threatenings of like punishment, in case of disobedience, and running away, or disclosure of this tragedy. Nothing, now remained, but to consume the flesh, and bones ; and for this purpose the fire was briskly stirred, until two hours after midnight. When, as though the earth would cover out of sight, the nefarious scene, and as though the great master in Heaven would put a mark of his displeasure upon such monstrous cruelty, a sudden and surprising shock of Earthquake overturned the coarse and heavy backwall, composed of rock and clay, which completely covered the fire, and the remains of George. This put an end to the amusements of the evening. The negroes were now permitted to disperse, with charges to keep this matter among themselves, and never to whisper it in the neighborhood, under the penalty of a like punishment. When he retired the lady exclaimed, ' O ! Mr Lewis where have you been and what have you done ! ' She had heard a strange pounding, and dreadful screams, and had smelled something like fresh meat burning ! He said that he had never enjoyed himself at a ball so well as he had enjoyed himself that evening. Next morning he ordered the negroes to rebuild the backwall, and he himself superintended the work throwing the pieces of flesh that still remained with the bones, behind as it went up, thus hoping to conceal the matter. But it could not be hid—much as the negroes seemed to hazard they whispered the horrid deed to the neighbors, who came, and before his eyes tore down the wall, and finding the remains of the boy, they testified against him. But before the court sat, to which he was bound over, he was, by an act of suicide, with George, in the eternal world.

Sure there are bolts, red with no common wrath, to blast the man.

WILLIAM DICKEY.

Bloomingsburg, Oct. 8, 1824.'

' N. B. This happened in 1811 if I be correct, the 16th of December. It was the sabbath ! '

' This awful scene of cruelty exhibits what tremendous things the slaveholder may do ! And though the dreadful wretch was taken up on suspicion, and bound over to court, yet, I apprehend, there was little probability of his actually falling under the sentence of the law.* He might have eventually, so managed the matter as to make the sentence fall upon the heads of his slaves. But be that as it might, it is certain, that the state, by making men his property, gave him the opportunity of perpetrating the horrid deed and therefore it stands first in the list of crimes !

FROM YOUR AFFECTIONATE BROTHER.

an especial manner to the
As I came through this city in June, I made a
short visit to the venerable Moses Brown, (the
patriarch of Friends,) who is now in his ninety-
fifth year. I have just returned from a second
visit, highly gratified to find that his health con-
tinues good and his intellect clear. He is certain-
ly an extraordinary man, and sustains the heavy

ATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1832.

NO. 42.

their limbs or taking their lives; but what avail
such laws while slaves are made the property of
their masters? May not men order their property
to any place to which they may wish it to go?
Hence, may not the vengeful master order his
slave into his kitchen, or some other secret place,
and there break all his limbs, tear out his eyes,
and even murder him with the most savage cruel-
ty? Or may he not do all this even in the open
field, in the presence of a thousand other slaves,
and yet escape the sentence of the law? Not one
of all this thousand could be a witness against
him, and perhaps not one of them would even so
much as dare to mention the crime. Hence, the
poor slave has no security, either for his limbs,
or his life, further than what is in the will of his
master. And, alas! there is often but little there;
Could you secretly attend the fields, the kitchen
and the huts, in which slaves labor and live, you
would see limbs broken, skulls fractured, and even
eyes torn out. And what is if possible still worse,
you would see many most cruelly murdered!
A respectable young lady, of my acquaintance,
received a most painful shock by unexpectedly
discovering one of the terrible things which are
sometimes done in the kitchen. She visited the
house of a certain Kentuckian, who was consid-

I sh however be told here probably
tht days of such cruelty have gone by
re —
True; to a great extent this is
probably true. Public sentiment even
at t south will not tolerate such its
any considerable extent, such instances of
cruelty. ~~And yet~~ And I bless God th

There is in this respect a decided
change for the better. Still it is parti-
-ment to ask whether this change in
public sent.^t has wrought any change
in those which put t power of inflicting
such cruelty into t hands of t master?
&c.

And sh I add now in the
(5) place the slave holding is, in all our
land at least, t fruitful source of
crimes of a still deeper die than
these? - Wh.^t is t body to t soul? Wh.^t
is t life of t body to t life of t other? &c.
It is sup^d the much is doing to instruct &c Parson p 130.
~~And when only instruction it must be attempt^d at inf^r disadvantage~~
see Parson p 132

Now then I ask whether
t tree th bears such fruit as this
is a good one? &c.

Not a sin! Not a sin! &c

Infer^d or Inquire who are guilty
from this &c

Slaveholding then is in all cases, false-
hood in theory; tyranny in practice;
a violation of G's law; & a parent of
atominations. And now if it be not
a sin, or if Circ^s can & do justify its
continuance then I beg to know who?
Sin is; & wh^t there is, murder not
except wh^o may ~~not~~ be justified in a

Just admitting the necessity of the plea will

^{see Infer^s}
Similar way ^{Text Jer 7:9, 10}

Lect III. Job 13:6, 7. Will ye talk wickedly for God?

There are objects. It is however objected
Rem^r I am a peculiar Circ^s urged in exten. are common

I ^{to every system} the slave is not qualified for freedom

th^{at} & th^{at} law of love to him - in other

words & law of God is not broken but

rather obeyed by continuing him in
bondage until he is qualified.

Q^u 2 where is it? ^{1st It is not always sincerely made, and off.}
in it = Liberia ^{there is no truth in} ^{2nd This plea is commonly}
made out supposition
may force blacks at South ^{it much is doing to qualify}
^{as a present quiet^r. Paston}

4. ~~Q^u~~ The continuing to hold him as a

slave is a very way to prevent his

ever being qualified. Paston p 126

(a) When was & thing ever done? = Eng. Col^s

(b) The attempt to qualify must of necessity
be made under great disadvantage.
Paston p 132 - e.g. blacks can't rise here such a

see inference to each

~~Prejudice~~, now admit this, & while you keep up
the prej^e try to devote.

5. The objection makes a question of liberty
or bondage turn on a false standard
& one th^t is really no standard.

(a) False - because it is not Q's.

(b) It is no stand. bec. it makes every
man's ~~his neighbor's~~ judg^t of his
neighbors qualifications & test of his
freedom. Of course a standard varies
with & ever varying judg^t of various
individ^s. So th^t wh^t wd be ~~standard~~ as
a requisite qualifications for freedom in
& judg^t of one might not be in th^t of
another. The slave is on this principle
wd h^e as much right to set up his
judg^t as a standard ~~by it to decide~~
~~on his master's~~ by wh^t to decide on
his master's qualif^y as a master
has to set up his judg^t as a stand. by
wh^t to decide upon a qualification
of a slave. May more &c.

But 6² what is worse still - this objection
avows & principle the Circ^s who are their
& result sin can change the sin per-
sisted in to right. Whose fault is it
tht & slave is not qualified? Whence
comes it tht he is not? Whence ^{his} ignor-
-ance, degradation, ^{supposed} incapacity of taking
care of ^{himself} ~~them~~? &c - To plead this objection
therefore is much like this - e.g. cut off
a man's hands & feet - keep them off for
self-preservation - & plead kind^t to & man, for
keeping him in the condition. And 175

And finally on this principle you may
be justified in reducing & free to ser-
-itude - especially & free blacks, if as
so said they are, as a class, more degraded
than & slave.

~~The truth then is tht this plea~~
This objection of ^{is} a most wicked objⁿ of
& non-qualifⁿ avails nothing. The
slave is ~~qualif^d for freedom~~ a man,
& according to Q's standard, is ~~free~~

has & qual^y of a freeman,

~~"If our sins be forgiven we are delivered to do all things"~~
But it is objected again

III the Slaveholding is entailed on
slaveholders & it is not a sin.

~~"then it back on the father"~~ ^{Imp^t what is it if it is entailed?}
(2) Who are entailed? &c.

I reply ~~that~~ the slaveholding cannot be entailed
in a proper sense of the term.

Imp^t to notice th all sins have physical evils attend on
them, these may be entailed, but then wh only & wh alone can perpe-
trate is not entailed. If you say & laws ~~compel consent~~ and other circ^s

~~I say they do not~~ ~~compel consent~~ ~~and other circ^s~~
~~compel assent~~ The answer is there is no
~~that is such a thing as really compelling or~~
~~forbearing of any sin without self-denial~~
~~even if the law of God is such a thing as~~
~~& sacrifice greater or less according to~~
~~the aggravated nature of the sin.~~ ^{Do you say they will ab-}
^{e.g. kidnapping in Georgia}

e.g. a man inherits a slave ship from his
father.

But 2^d It is not entailed in point of
fact. For (a) where I ask does the process of ent-
ailment begin? Negro's Friend p 12.

(b) I have the authority of a Southern
man, sustained by the authority of
the Boob. Recorder th it is not. Essays p 12.

Besides in 1819 Mr Middleton of S. Car. stated
it as his opinion th^t 13,000 Africans were
annually smuggled into our Southern
States, & Mr Wright of Virg. estimates the
number at 15,000.

Legislatures & men of the present generation
have been guilty of this original sin. (over)

8th The plea of entail is not valid with G.
Talk we then of entail? ~~who for centuries with conscience - say I next generation goes right on
expect to attain exact as they. Pharoas -~~

Athen's, Sparta, Rome sealed their destruct
(2) The plea not valid with conscience - suppose I
- on by enslaving th^e captives in war.
next generation to go right on in steps of I present - in the
type perished in ~~the~~ ^{the} night by her
plea be good or ~~if these things happen as in Sam^l 13:1-5~~ Suppose our
Slaves. Talk of entail - then as we
own nation to be swept with I judg^t of heaven I anth
may, it will not turn back from us the
rising from our ashes sh^d follow in our steps, notwithstanding
thunder bolts of heaven. Entailed or not
+ light of our example.

entailed G's providence will hasten
to judg^t - & the time will come, unless
speedy repentance take place, a ~~man~~ ^{man} in
+ language of a Virginian - "I have
brought th^e jaws our harvest - th^e plough
among + leaves of the cane & th^e corn
will rustle banners of war. By I side
implements of agriculture employ
works of peace will appear the gleam
of arms." Yes & the heavⁿ too will gather black raps &
then talk of entail. with those thunder

Infer. we guilty as Pharaoh.

Slave holder. I do not want to
the time th^e hour of your death
listen - there light is put out & you are
lost.

This leads me to say 1st the so far is
slave holding from being literally en-
-tailed, the in point of fact it descends
from father to son, not merely by vol^t
consent, but under circumstances
which heighten its guilt in every suc-
-ceeding generation. ^{make 28 Sept.} & a simple reason
is th^t in every succeeding generation the son
sins against greater light than did t^h father.

(a) The truth is this sin is ~~tailed~~
~~down just as~~ ~~entailed in t^h same sense as~~
~~are many other~~ ~~entailed in t^h same sense~~
the other sins are, & in no other, e.g. slave-
-traffic — Nepher on the throne.

And (b) this plea overlooks one of t^h
most obvious yet fearful principles of G^d's
providential administration — th^t of visiting
on one generation, the sins of previous
generations. ^{Now see Prof Mcene's Ser^{ch} [22.2]}

Fact th^t G^d does thus visit &c — t^h Canaanites
& the Jews, & th^t upon you may come all t^h right^{'s}
blood shed upon t^h earth & t^h blood of right^{'s} shed
unto t^h blood & Zacharias son of Barachias, whom
ye slew between t^h temple & t^h altar. — ~~And~~

but what is meant by G's visiting & iniquities
of & Father upon & child? Not &c.

Now is this mode of procedure
unjust. The child who adopts & prac-
tices & sins of his father must necessarily
do it under & increased light wh. is thrown
on & subj^t by its fearful effects as seen
in & experience of the father. This guilt
is: enhanced & ~~his sinners~~ ~~condem~~
he become worthy of deeper condemnation

e.g. rum dealer

" slave-trafficier = Dr. Beecher.

" slave-holder - see Greene.

(3) Suppose And then, if we come to
& case in hand, our own system of
servitude, the South we are told is all
in agitation &c

True - ~~Coming~~ out of his secret
place & Sinai. & the light of gathering
judg^t is flashing on the matter.

And then in addition to all this
there is & light of public-sentiment at home
& abroad, against wh & present slaveholding
sins. - ~~slave-trafficier~~ - ~~infer~~ ~~the~~ ~~we~~ ~~are~~ ~~guilty~~ ~~of~~ ~~it~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~ground~~ ~~th~~ ~~the~~ ~~sin~~ ~~is~~ ~~entailed~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~public~~ ~~sentiment~~ ~~&~~ ~~we~~ ~~are~~ ~~responsible~~ ~~for~~ ~~that~~.

But it is objected to 1 sin of slavehold-
ing III - th t bible sanctions Slavery.

replay I ask 1st Wh^t sin is there, which
as I have w^d think there was some licentiousness some of them have
in 1 columnation of the man guilty of
1 bible does not sanction? polygamy
man-slaughter - war - intemperance.
See Paston Letter B. p 136. 140. Thieving. Slave trade.

2^d If t bible sanctions it why does
not the God of the bible sanction it?

Pharoas - other nations - why demanded
both by his word & prov th t oppress^d st
go free & swept t nations as with t
besom of destruction just so soon as
by the refusal they wd fill^d up t meas.
of the inig^s? see case of Israelites in Egypt specially.
Deut 26.

3. The spirit of t Bible is at war
with all involg servitude. Quibble &
millenium - Heaven.

But t bible certainly says something about slavery. True, but
then it is not enough th it speaks of it as being practiced by good men,
does it? The Slavery of t Bib. utterly unlike. It
approve & justify them in it.
Ex 21:20 Deut 23:15. Lev 24 - Abraham's case p 95 -
Paston h 786

But servants are told to obey masters?
5. Obey the King - Paston p 70.

Paston p 91
I agree
Ob. But they were brought to us - so were the Jews & others.

Greenwood

Lect III. Acts 17: 18. What will this babble say?
We come now to a remedy. What is it?

And here I am constrained to say the
every Am. citizen & Christ- is imperiously
called on to investigate this whole suby^t.
anew. - ~~more~~ at N. Y. - West - England
- papers

And allow me to say also in a
lang. of Wilberforce - "It is utterly impos-
- sible ~~that~~ they who live in a administⁿ of
a petty despot^m of a slave community, whose
minds h^t warped & polluted by a contam-
- ination of slavery, sh^d not lose the resp^t for
the fellow creat^s over whom they tyrannize
wh^o is essential in a nat.^e & mor. being of
man, to secure them fr^o a abuse of power
over the prostrate fellow creat^s. We
cannot expect they sh^d see things in a
light we do who h^t happ^d to live in
a free community; & it is to expect they
sh^d adopt a requisite means to abol.
slavery is to expect not only an incon-
- sistency but almost an impossibility."
we better qualified to decide on a best

remedy ~~in~~ intemp.

I remark then

1st That t nat:

of t remedy is to be settled on gen^l
principles & not on except^d Cases, wh
admit of no remedy - e.g. intemp.^r &
for some th c^d not abstain with death.

Again 2^d The remedy whatever it be
must respects the rights & interests of
t injured rather than t interests of
injurers. Talk our owing a debt to Africa! &

Again 3^d It must accord to t injured
& oppressed slave t right of private
judg^t & of free unconstrained choice,
(as otherwise it only adds insult to injury) ^{& is no remedy}
Cherries. see act of Maryland.

The law of Maryland, to which the resolution we have quoted refers, was passed on March 14th, 1832. This law was intended to aid in colonizing the people of color in that State. By this act a board of managers for colonizing the blacks, is erected. The 2d. section of this law, whenever a slave is emancipated by deed or will, provides that it shall be the duty of this board 'to notify the American Colonization Society, or the Maryland State Colonization Society thereof, and to propose to such society that they shall engage, at the expense of such society, to remove the said slave or slaves so manumitted to Liberia; and if the said society shall so engage, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to have the said slave or slaves delivered to the agent of such society, at such place as the said society shall appoint, for receiving such slave or slaves for the purpose of such removal, at such time as the said society shall appoint; and in case the said society shall refuse to receive and remove the person or persons so manumitted and offered, or in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be so removed, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place, or places beyond the limits of this State, as the said Board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves out of any money that may be earned by their hire, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose, and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to any place beyond the limits of this State, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff forthwith to arrest or cause to be arrested the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State, and transport the said person or persons beyond the limits of this State; and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.'

Again 10th The remedy whatever it be, in order to be effectual, must be based on a denial of the correctness of the fundamental principle of slavery. What is the principle? Whence & first & continued existence of all slave holding?

Again 5th It must not admit as valid the objections urged against & sin of continued slave holding.

~~on the contrary a word~~

On the contrary & in a word, it must lay & axe at the root of the tree. e. g. temperance meet.

These remarks prepare the way for a more explicit answer to the inquiry what is the remedy?
Answer, Complete & universal emancipation both in
And I to schemes of amelioration
are futile. -

- (a) They start on wrong principles.
- (b) They never propose to remedy but to.
- (c) In point of fact they have never as yet accomplished - anything important.

See Eng. Philanthropist - Stanley's speech

Buckingham Eng. 9 years since brot the
the day of Emancipation - now a

the day of Emancipation - now a
the day of Emancipation - now a

members of House come recently
lost your bell - Wilberforce, Clarkson &
once agt. Immediate Abolition, now for it. Now
must we travel over same ground?

5. It must not admit as valid objections -
~~which & system of the~~ by which & sin is
impt to be justified, & defended. - e.g. Slave traffic.

6. On the contrary it must lay & strike at the root,
of & tree. - e.g. temperance movt. use - traffic - legalizant.
These remarks prepare & way for an answer?
~~On~~ All schemes to & inquiry what is & remedy?

All schemes of Amelioration are futile

(1) they go on wrong principles

~~(2) in point of fact they accomplish nothing~~

(2) they ~~never~~ can't do not even aim
at being a radical remedy.

(3) in point of fact they never have accomp.
any thing. England - Stanley's speech. -

The scheme of Immediate Abolition

is & only efficacious & effectual remedy.

(1) bec. it ~~is~~ ^{starts right, is with} a denial of & fund
principle of all slavery - ^{see also 2, 3, 5, 6.} intemp.

(2) bec. it proceeds right in & application of its principle.
~~It applies whatever of power~~

in at & right spot - the use - & market -
never a grander oversight - but temper-
taught us better. - intemperance.

It assaults ~~with~~ ^{its} its right character
as
a more evil & with & weapons of
truth ~~intemp.~~ intemp.

de

ou
ou

(3)

But there are many objections to this scheme. In the

1st it is asked wh^t is the scheme - wh^t do you mean by it & wh^t does it am^t?

2. A brief definition is this - 1. the slaveholder, so far as he is concerned, should cease at once to hold or employ his slaves as property ~~he should~~ 2. He instead of turning them adrift upon society uncared for - he should employ them as hired servants - giving them however freedom of choice whether to remain in his service or not. 3. He should regard them as possessing all the rights & ~~freedom~~ or not. 4. He from this starting point he should begin to make amends for the past by entering heartily upon the work of qualifying them & elevating them to all the privileges & blessings of freedom, religion.

And further so far as non-slave-
holders are concerned - the scheme is 1. ^{to} try in
any practicable & lawful way endeavor ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{convince} slaveholders
of the duty & to persuade them to do it. - The grand
means of doing this of course is to preach & truth
John Flood &c.

But it is said again

Ex. 2: This looks very well on paper - sounds well to but after all it doesn't tell us how

the thing is to be done - we are practical men - we want some plan &c

Rep. & What does the question mean - (1) What plan for slave holder? He is to do his duty in the manner proposed & thus become free from himself & by his example a power to preach & testify. What plan for his ^{right to others} ~~right to others~~ to preach & testify in words. And is this no plan?

Pray what plan has Jesus Christ for reforming world for all sin? - notice the grand obstacle in the same genl principles apply here. Nor is it any other than this sin is entrenched as a source of core growth of its own existence - same time of other sins - ~~Slave~~ slave traffic - theatre traffic - And I would know this, hence so sensitive.

Lect IV. May the sword be used in the sword.

True but after all this thing cannot be done for - Leviathan not so tamed.

Obj 3. ~~To~~ do it would be literally turning the upside down - be the ruin of master & slave

Rep. & Let me now suppose a case - a power preaching for & test & now command all men every where to repent & all Boston to obey it at once - What an uproar? Catechise: theaters all shut up - no filled with orthodox ministry &c

Lect. IV. But let us look at the objection more in detail - for it embodies several -

1. It would not be safe for the master. - ~~this from~~

~~suppose a case on very mistaken views of~~

(a) There is no proof of this - It is an assumed opinion to which is a result of mere fear.

Obj But why call it immediate abolition if this is all you mean.

Obj 4th Abolition talks largely but accomplishes nothing. — England. See Buckingham 9 years since first broad track of Abol. in Eng^d

Obj 5. Produces excitement & retard
Emancipation — See Stanley's speech

~~Obj 6. Condemns the great & good of~~

Obj 6. Condemns the great & good of
past generations. — (Washⁿ Rev. Ch
See Newton's Experience in resp^t to Slave Traffic.
Sabb. Scho. Quarterly. See Prof. Greene's 4th Sermon.

Obj 7th It breathes an unchristian spirit
towards South. — See Essays

~~Obj 8. It pays no respect to the solemn
obligations imposed by the Constitution.~~

Obj 8. But the color & they can not
be elevated here & the man who is
— stock of heaven. See Bro. Wilson's

Adts. Miss Paul, Williams & Roberts denied passage in stage. Knapp's treatment at the stage was

Mr. Copley respectfully begs leave to
present ~~the enclosed~~ with
the enclosed season ticket to the Exhibition
of Mr. Haydon's fine Picture of Christ
Entering Jerusalem, at Mr. Harding's
Gallery, School Street.

Boston, Dec. 28, 1832.

G. Hubbard says no regard to & solemn
obligations imposed by & Constitution - &
~~not so - why should~~

But wh. if y have legal rig
why sh^d y at v North interfere & ~~interfere~~

1. on t principle of the text. t sa
dyⁿ wd shut me out fr Pagan lands.

~~2. Because by the constitution
are implicated personally in the sin.~~

2^d Bec. we are personally guilty
in respect to it - (a) implicated in it by
constitⁿ (b) by permitting its existence in
Dist. of Col.

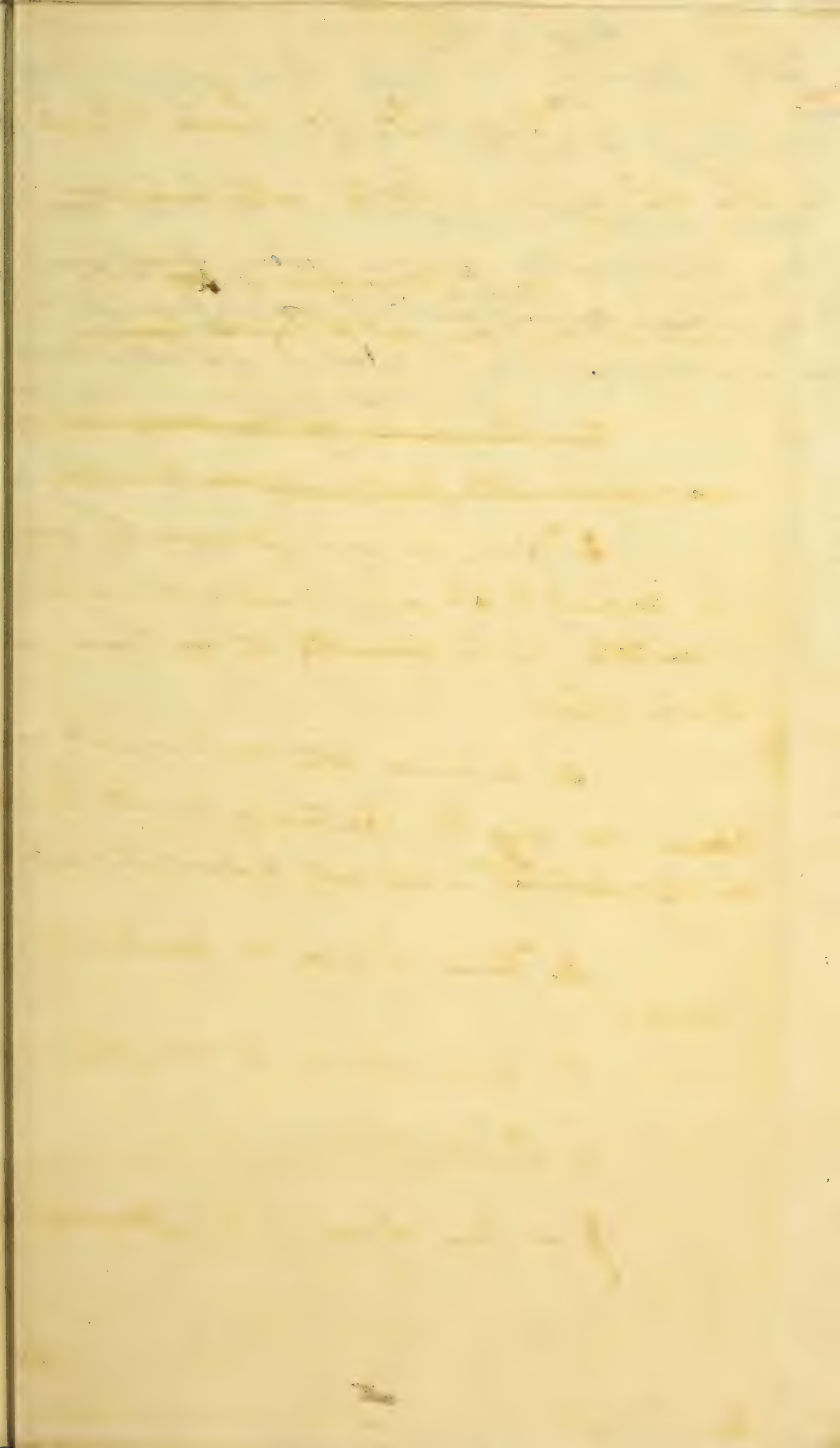
3. Because with such int^r we
never do any thing effectually for its abolition
in the district - see facts to show it t scotch

4. Bec. Silence or neutrality is
t sin.

5. Benevolence to t master dem

6. Patriotism

7 - The Law of self preservation
t sin



Hint &c.

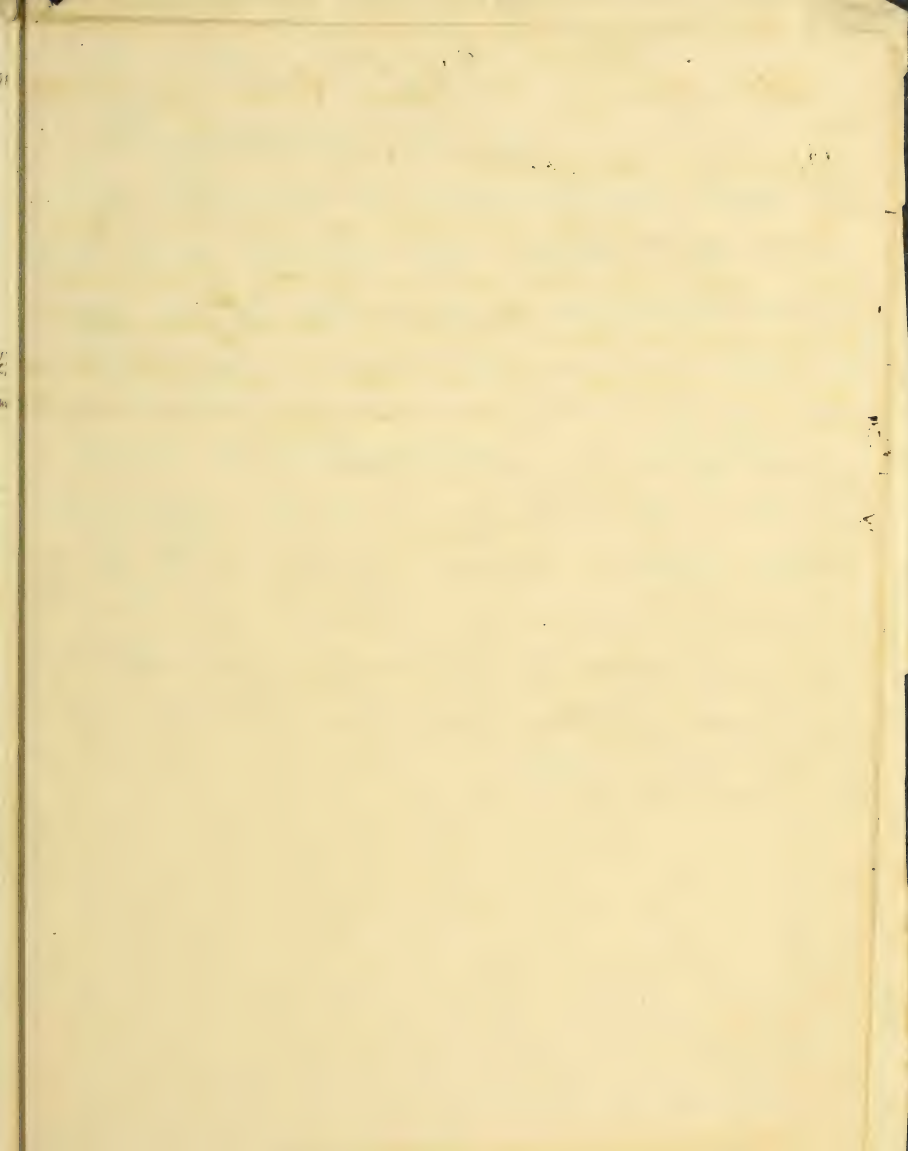
Bible slavery - see Talmis Archaeology sect 169 &c.

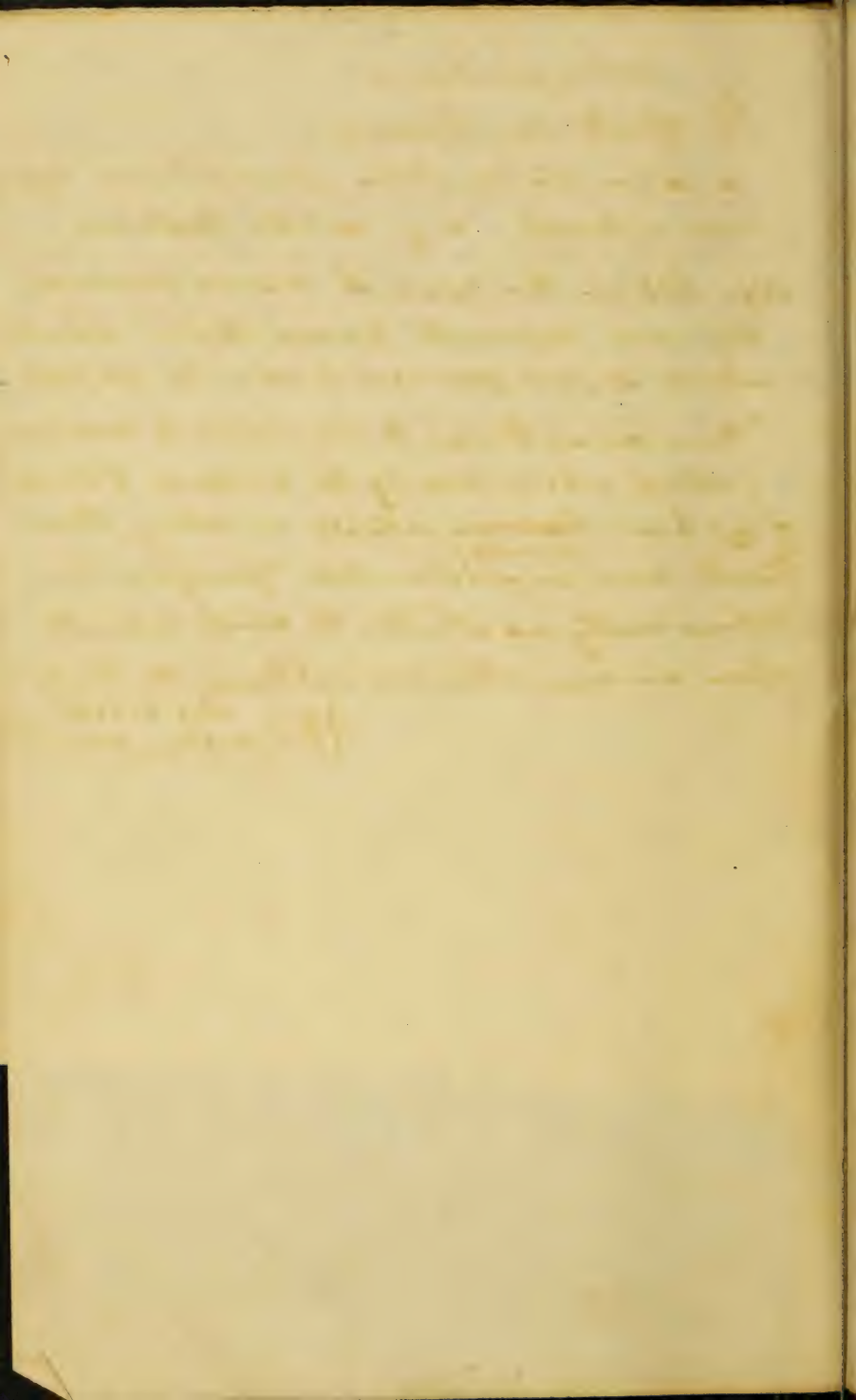
Blessing to be expected.

"Have any of the rulers believed on him"? Agree with y^r principles but you are giving ⁱⁿ influence to injurious men! (Fairchild) - correct principle & yet injurious! Why not admonish as a brother than &c?

Chil 9.22. - Pax. p 15-17. Mr Gar. a very ass for stupidity ^{with this} ~~comp~~

They said the South are blessings for
emancipation see p 100. 7. 10. 11. from the
to may you are not of blessing me
they need our support





Colonization.

Its effects on Africa.

1. Colonists & natives always have separate interests - e.g. us & the Indians -

Obj. Not in this case it is said because they are separate races. (1) Their separate interests do not grow out of color. (2) see fact

"You must know, the all civilized men are called white here by the natives & some of us have become adepts in calling them black men in ^{contra-}distinction & fancying ourselves really as white. So much depends upon circumstances." *Liberia Herald for*
Aug. 8. 1833.
Town. Com. Oct 1. 1833

Lect V.

Text. How can two walk together except they be agreed?

The question is often asked why can't
Anti Slavery & Colonization Societies go on together?

Ans. Because they differ.

I state particulars in w^h they differ.

II Reasons for Abandoning Colonization.

1. Colony growing too fast now - eq. town of 2,000 - have 200 new ones brot in. the physical diff of col. lies here.

2. It aims at accomplishing two objects in
compatible with each other - viz Tolice of prejudice
" " " benevolence

3. It does not propose to remedy short of some

200 years or more - we are expecting the miller

— in before that. or if it does propose to do it sooner
it cannot. see our country - it is of 200 years growth -
Thom p 63.

Thom p 63.

5. It am⁴ to virtual force - say the

Maryland law - Mr. ^{Greene h 45} Broadway Stephen Brown
 (Mr. Livingston) honest - swore it not to be in his family - persuaded to go
 out to service - w^d not let him buy himself - off his freedom if he w^d
 go to Liberia - w^d not - comfort by constables - lodged in County
 jail - sold to Georgia - suffered - money to be given to Col^r.
 16. He stands in way - e.g. suppose it out of the

6. It stands in the way - e.g. suppose it out of the way - what a ring of pull
debt to Africa!!! See Coling. speech 3 years since
on slaves

56,000 missive. 7. Does not advance ^{sentiment.} public sentiment. Public sentiment gone back within 30 years - Friend Phil^a. Edg^s sermon Vermont as is printing.

C. Schmitts
July 19

10

Rev Amos. Phelps.
Taunton
Care of Mrs. Phelps, Mass.

Anti-Slavery ~~Tracts~~

Vol. 1. Part 1.

1840

1840

with Ms. B.9.1 (11) & uses. By
similar & innumerable sins. By
fruits than let it be judged. "A good
tree cannot bring forth evil fruit: nor
can it apply the passage to the case in hand,
tree that in certain circumstances
lawful cannot in those circum-
stances bear unlawful fruit.

(1) a priori (2) a posteriori

Journal Com. No 497 Thom. p 29

the starspangled banner he was never
struck down in battle"
C. Courrell "I stain ~~the~~ banner"

Abolitionist p 126 Mercantile Journal.

Abolitionist p 126 Abolitionist p 93

219. 129. 129. 129.

Abolitionist p 93. 94

Page 130. 132

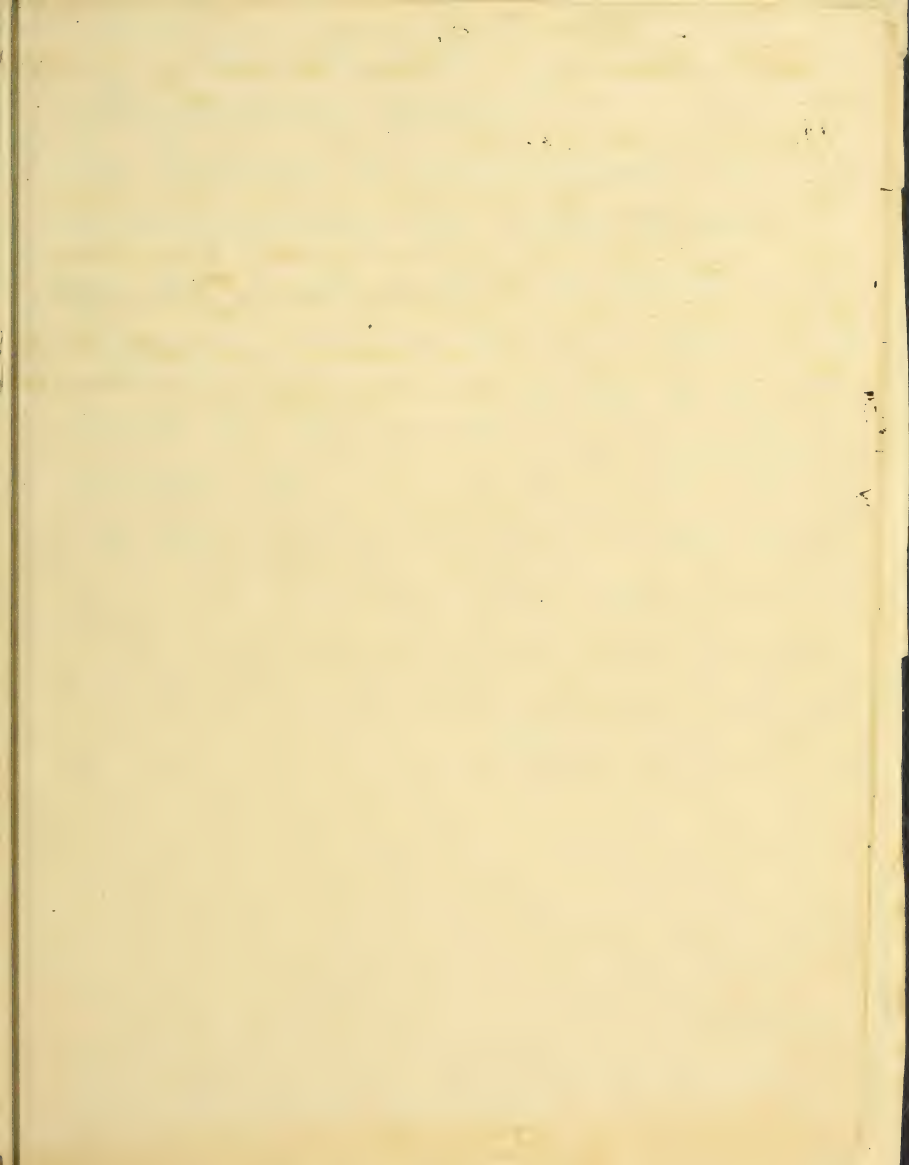
Ninth &c.

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Edw 222 - Par. p 15-17. Mr Gar. a very ass for stupidity ^{with this} ~~comp~~

They said the South are dangerous for
emancipation see p 106, 7, 8. To prove it
I may say are not for humanity and
they need our support



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a 19th-century manuscript. The text is written in dark ink on aged, yellowed paper. The handwriting is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the cursive style and fading. The text appears to be a letter or a formal document, possibly containing names, dates, and descriptive phrases. The overall tone is formal and historical.

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4. Slaves not qualified for freedom away by them except purchase the freedom of the savage.

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56,000 miss!!! 7. Does not advance public sentiment. Public sentiment gone back within 30 years - Fred Phil^s Edy^s Sermon^s ^{sentiment} ^{sermon} ^{in printing}

Josephine Mills
July 19

10

Rev Amos. Phelps.

Taunton
Care of Mrs. Phelps
Mass.

1841
John Quincy Adams

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

with Ms. B.9.1 (11) & uses.

similar & innumerable sins. By
to fruits then let it be judged. "A good
tree cannot bring forth evil fruit: Or
- apply the passage to the case in hand,
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Journal Com. No 497 Thom. p 29

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11 p 136, Liberator p 126
Abolitionist p 93 Mercantile Journal.

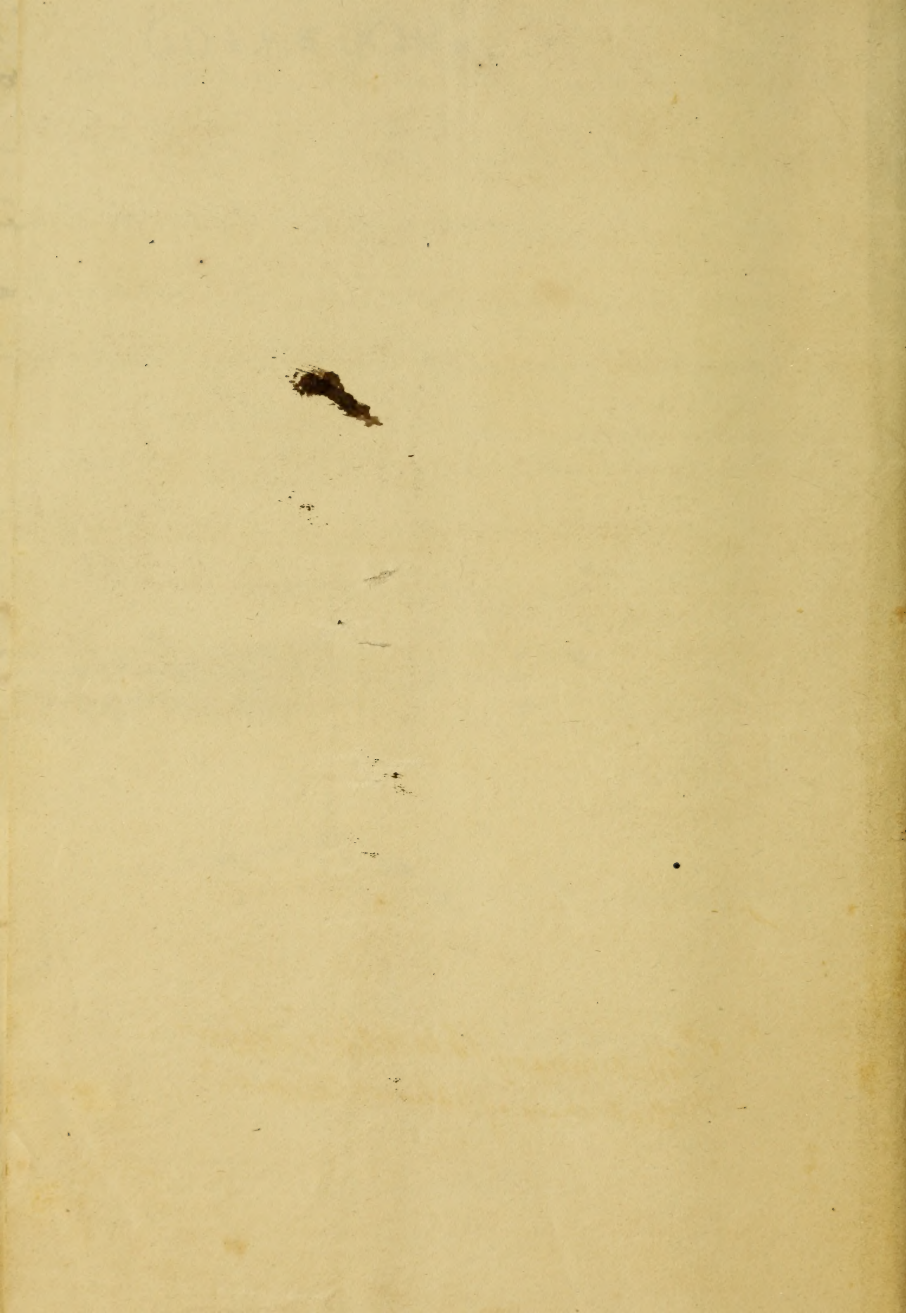
Liberator p 126 Abolitionist p 93

21 p 24, Abolitionist p 93. 94

21 p 130. 132



with Ms. B. 9. 1 (11)



But qualif^d or not it is still insisted
th^t his situation is better & he happier &c &
∴ &c

1. The master h^{as} no rights to judge for &
the slave

2. C. p 15. The plea false Pax 148. 153, 4
Pax 167 Thom p 49-51. 68

3. Pax p 7. But the question is not so
much about the comfort or uncomf^{ort} of his
situation as the robbing of his rights

Pax p 200-3 &c Wardlaw p 11.

Days Letter to Washing "feed with ambrosia"
&c

Thom. Glas. p 30.

"That mercy I to others show
That mercy show to me."

